# THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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# THE FRANCHISE SITUATION

## MEMORIAL FROM THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION TO THE SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE ON ELECTORAL REFORM.

*A memorial has been addressed to the Speaker's Conference on behalf of the Workers' Suffrage Federation. We take the following extract from it:—*

". . . The present franchise and registration system is anomalous and complicated, it enfranchises and disenfranchises on no logically defensible principle. Indeed, during the recent debates on the franchise in the House of Commons not a single Member of Parliament was found to defend the franchise and registration law as it stands to-day. Every Parliamentary group appears to be asking for some change.

"We submit that the only possible method of settling all claims and of securing justice is to introduce a measure to enfranchise every adult person.

### THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MANIFESTO.

"A manifesto has been issued urging that women ought not to be enfranchised until after a General Election, in order that the question may be decided by the electors. The signatories to this letter are drawn from both the big political parties. They have used what influence they have to prevent the question being made an election issue by the Parties to which they belong. The question of enfranchising women has never been and probably never will be a party question. The majority of people in all parties approve it, some few disapprove it. Is it then never to be decided? But the signatories to the memorial who insist that votes for women must be submitted to a General Election, are pressing for the enfranchisement of every lad in the Army and Navy who has reached the age of eighteen. Such a claim has never been put forward by any candidate at any election—it was never put forward at all before this war. The question of votes for women, on the other hand, has been constantly before Parliament since 1867, when John Stuart Mill moved an amendment to the then Reform Bill. Women's organisations have canvassed Parliamentary candidates on this subject systematically ever since, and since 1886 every Parliament has contained a majority of Members pledged to support the enfranchisement of women. Women's suffrage measures have repeatedly passed the Second Reading in Parliament but successive Governments have refused facilities to allow the question to proceed further.

"We urge you to advise that this long overdue question shall now be brought to a settlement by the adoption of some such just and simple measure as that which obtains in New Zealland. Apart from its golden merit of establishing a just franchise basis, Adult Suffrage for men and women would sweep away much expensive and complicated procedure.

### THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM.

Under the New Zealand system, all adult men and women who are British subjects by birth or naturalisation, have lived twelve months in the Dominion, and have resided during the three months preceding registration in the district where they desire to vote, are placed on the electoral roll. No one may be enrolled for more than one district. The electoral roll is closed for printing on a date fixed by the Governor in Council in the year in which the election is held. Claims for enrolment received by the Registrar between the date of closing the roll and 6 p.m. on the date of issue of the writ for election, are entered on a supplementary roll; therefore, there is no reason for any qualified person to be excluded. Seamen and others, who expect to be absent from their districts during the election, may obtain permits to record their votes for their home district in any part of the Dominion. The electoral districts are arranged upon the basis of population and are adjusted every five years.

"Australia has a similar system, Canada has Manhood Suffrage and a continuous register, of which Mr. Long spoke with admiration in Parliament on August 16th. During the War four of the Canadian provinces have adopted Womanhood Suffrage.

"We urge you to follow this excellent precedent and to recommend to Parliament the introduction of a measure to enfranchise every adult man and woman.

"Signed on behalf of the Workers' Suffrage Federation.

"E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Hon. Secretary.
"BARBARA TCHAYKOVSKY, M.D.
Hon. Treasurer.
"NORAH SMYTH,
Hon. Financial Secretary.
"MINNIE LANSBURY,
Hon. Assistant Secretary.
"17th November, 1916."

## THE SPEAKER'S CONFERENCE

The "Daily Chronicle" says:—

"Slow but sure progress is being made by the Speaker's Committee on Electoral Reform. An agreement has been reached on the question of Plural Voting. The plural vote is to disappear, to be superseded by a dual vote where the voter has a separate residential and business qualification.

*Briggs in the New York Tribune, U.S.A.*

The Committee will recommend that the qualifying period for a vote shall be reduced to six months, and that London shall be treated as one electoral unit."

The "Glasgow Herald" says:—

"I hear that three interesting recommendations have been arrived at by the Parliamentary Electoral Conference which is presided over by the Speaker. The difficult and thorny problem of the plural voter has, it seems, been solved by an ingenious compromise which gives a man who has a separate residential and a separate business qualification the right to vote only in respect of each qualification. If this device ever becomes law the 'plural' voter will become the 'dual' voter. Another decision of the Conference reduces the qualifying period to six months, while the third proposal is that London shall be converted into one borough for Parliamentary purposes, thus getting rid of all the existing electoral anomalies which flow from the division of the Metropolis into 29 separate boroughs. The Conference has not discussed as yet the main questions of electoral reform, such as women's suffrage and redistribution."

Members of the Conference assert these are mere rumours. The Conference has published no official report.

## IN THE LOBBY

A rumour had got about that the Suffrage Conference was about to finish its deliberations and that the opportunity to test the feelings of the House on the enfranchisement of soldiers and sailors as such which Mr. Asquith promised to Sir Edward Carson was now to be given.

This brought a number of W.S.F. members to interview Members of Parliament in order, if they could, to make them understand that the franchise question cannot be settled without the working women being included.

Amongst those interviewed were Sir W. Bull (U.), Mr. G. R. Thorne (L.), Sir Albert Spicer (L.), Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickenson (L.), Sir J. Bethell (L.), Mr. F. W. Goldstone (Lab.), Mr. P. O'Brien (N.), and others.

We were told that the Speaker's Conference is working very hard, and that all sorts of franchise schemes and franchises existing in other countries are being considered, and that it is possible the investigation may not be finished by Christmas. We were assured that nothing will be done by the House until the Conference has reported.

Members asked us whether we wanted votes for "gipsies and hedgerows," when we demanded adult suffrage.

We replied, that all that had been arranged very nicely in the Australian and New Zealand Dominions where men and women vote on an adult suffrage basis to the great improvement of everything and everybody concerned. If the women of the Dominions were worthy then why not we?

Another Member assured us that the House would stand no half-and-half measures and in his opinion if there were more votes to be given to men, they would be given to both men and women on a democratic basis.

The women who were present in the Lobby all realised that this question is more urgent to-day than ever before. The struggle that the working mothers have to get food for their children when they must spend 4s. to get a pound of sugar makes them impatient to get power into their own hands so that they can influence the food question. They certainly cannot do so now.

C. DRAKE.

Mrs. Drake will be in the Lobby from 2.45 on Tuesday afternoons and will be pleased to help those who desire to interview Members of Parliament on the suffrage question. Ask for the Stranger's Entrance of the House of Commons and mention the name of a Member of Parliament to the policeman or write to Mrs. Drake at 49 Crediton Road, Tidal Basin, and arrange to meet her.

## THE ANTIS' ULTIMATUM

A letter announcing the intention of its signatories to offer "strenuous opposition to the extension of electoral rights to women" has been sent to the Press by—

Sarah Boyce, E. M. Burgwin, Beatrice Chamberlain, Flora Fardell, Lily Frere, M. E. Jersey, Margaret H. Macmillan, V. Montrose, Ellen S. Pinsent, Gladys Pott, Catherine E. Robson, Maud Tree, H. S. Wantage, Mary A. Ward; Bryce, Edward Clarke, H. Craik, James Crichton Browne, Cromer, Curzon, A. V. Dicey, George Gretton, George Hamilton, H. Hensley Heason, Charles Hobhouse, W. W. Jackson, Rudyard Kipling, Loreburn, H. J. Mackinder, John Marsie, Edward A. Mitchell, John Murray, Weardale.

These people protest that they "cannot be parties to any attempt at a premature and unauthorised solution—all they are asked to do is to stand aside, but we must protest that so far from being premature the solution of the votes for women question was overdue when the present generation was in its infancy!

## THE NORTHERN MEN'S REPLY

The following letter has been sent by the General Executive of the Northern Men's Federation to the Lord Chancellor:—

"My Lord,—The General Executive of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage desires to approach you on the question of the debate on Lord Salisbury's Register Bill and to ask you to make known our views to Lords Salisbury, Lansdowne, Crewe, Parmoor, and Peel, all of whom took part in the debate.

"We have carefully perused the details of the Bill, and find little difference between its provisions and those of the Government Register Bill, suggested by the Conference (of which Lord Salisbury is a member), and which was rejected by the House of Commons. In the debates on both Bills, however, we notice that, while the principle of votes for soldiers and sailors was freely discussed, the question above all other franchise questions most animating the mind of the country, viz., Votes for Women, was conspicuous by the manner in which Hon. Lords and Hon. Members avoided the question *which must be faced* before a Register acceptable to the country can be framed. The uncomfortable impression is getting abroad that there is a Parliamentary cabal against this inevitable reform, and that the Leaders in Parliament are playing into one another's hands over the question. . . . It pleases opponents in both Houses to speak of Women's Suffrage as a "controversial question," but the question has ceased to be "controversial," except in Parliament, where it is held up by this small but powerful minority and their Parliamentary supporters. The man in the street desires to see Women's Suffrage established without further delay, every intelligent individual with a knowledge of what the vote means desires it for women. . . . The General Executive of the Northern Men's Federation desire to inform the House of Lords that the organisation will strenuously and publicly resist any Register Bill that does not place women on the Register on equal terms with men, and if necessary will come to London to make known their views.—Yours obediently, HAMILTON BROWN, J.P., Glasgow Councillor; R. FERGUSON, Hon. Sec., Northern Men's Federation, Glasgow Centre; COUNCILLOR MCMICHAEL, J.P., Edinburgh Town Council; ALEXANDER ORR, Hon. Treasurer, N.M.F.; JAS. BRUNTON, Trustee, Edinburgh Trades Council; J. WILSON MCLAREN, N.M.P.; DAVID PEARY, J.P. (Ex-Provost).

* * * *

The newly enfranchised women of the Canadian province of Saskatchewan have voted in larger numbers than the men.

ADELA PANKHURST.

On her return from New Zealand to Australia:

*What vivid scenes tumultuously throng*
*And crowd our memories. With what delight*
*We welcome back this maid of ours to-night.*
*What theme more fit for story or for song*
*Than fearless youth opposing ancient wrong,*
*And, in the vanguard of a bloodless fight,*
*Leading, in the dear name of Love and Right,*
*The seeming weak against the seeming strong?*
*Wreaths for the Maid of Peace, this seer of ours,*
*Whose eyes have seen the promised land afar,*
*And dauntless challenging malignant powers*
*Flings down the gage of Peace in front of War.*
*Could men but see the glorious Here and Now,*
*What laureate wreaths would twine around her brow!*

—R. H. L., from the Australian "Woman Voter."

THE WOMAN'S
# DREADNOUGHT
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All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

Vol. III. No. 35 Sat., November 25th, 1916

**Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?**

## THE ONLY HOPE

The Government has responded to the universal protest against the administration of the Military and Naval Pensions by introducing a Bill to create a Pensions Minister and Board and by making a show of co-ordinating the pensions administration. We predict that the administrative changes effected by the Bill will produce little result so far as the soldiers and sailors and their families are concerned.

Dr. Macnamara, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. Forster, Financial Secretary to the War Office, and Mr. Hayes Fisher, Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board have been dealing with the pensions and allowances for many months past; and the fact that they are to be supposed to act together as a Board, instead of separately as heads of their departments, will not produce in them any radical change of outlook. Mr. Henderson, the new Pensions Minister is credited with having attempted to bring at least some order out of chaos since he accepted the office of Paymaster General. He may be intending to introduce radical reforms into that department, but there are no signs of them yet! The one important change that the Board of Pensions Bill is framed to introduce is that which takes away from the Statutory Committee and its local committees the power to supplement the pensions of disabled soldiers and sailors and the pensions of the widows: also the pensions of officers' widows "so far as they are determined otherwise than by the service of the officer." (Why should an officer's widow, as such, be able to obtain a supplementary allowance when a private's wife may not: how is the need of the widow affected by the length or quality of her husband's service?)

We have contended that the pensions should be granted as a right, not as a charity, and that they should be adequate and entirely provided by the State, in order that recipients need not be put to the humiliation and inconvenience of appearing before committees to plead for supplementary grants. But the pensions as they are granted to-day are grossly inadequate, and are only rendered capable of preserving a large number of families from actual starvation by the addition of the supplementary grants.

Mr. Henderson protested that the War Office Scale of Pensions is governed by Royal Warrants and that "there is much in them" that causes him "anything but satisfaction." But he gave no indication as to what the scale of new pensions is to be. Before Parliament and the country are justified in consenting to the withdrawal of supplementary grants, the future War Office Scale of Pensions should be made known. Are such pensions to continue as that of 10s. 9d. a week for a man and wife and seven children, the man having a shattered leg, which is causing him great pain and will render it impossible for him ever to return to his own trade; or 7s. a week for a wife and five children and the man an old soldier with India and Boer War medals, dying of an internal complaint?

Mr. Henderson made no promise that an end shall be put to the appalling practice of forcing unfit men into the Army and then discharging them without pension when they are broken down.

Dealing with the question of the cure, after-care and training of the disabled soldier and the provision of employment for him, Henderson said some experts favoured this being done before the soldier's discharge, but that soldiers whose pensions were not finally fixed did not take kindly to training or work until their pensions were fixed, lest by showing aptitude or finding employment, they should reduce their pensions. Mr. Hogge pressed him to follow the example of the French Government in declaring that the amount of a man's pension shall depend, not upon the wages that he is earning but the extent of his disability. Mr. Ellis Griffiths complained that the Chelsea Commissioners fix a man's pension for a certain time and when he comes back to be re-examined at its expiration, they ask him, not what his earning capacity is, but what he actually earns.

Mr. Henderson said that a new Warrant would be issued to deal with that point; but it seems to us that there is a more important one which is in danger of being overlooked. Many a man comes back from the front suffering from shattered nerves, debility or some other ill and in addition, perhaps, has lost a limb. The authorities certify him as only partially disabled and grant him half, a third or a quarter of the full pension, though in fact the man is incapable of working yet unable to prove it in the course of a brief stereotyped examination. Or perhaps the man may be fit for light work for a few hours a day if he is not hurried; but no employer can be found who is prepared to engage a semi-fit man. What is to happen to such men and their children? Already thousands of them have been discharged from the Army; their number will grow. Hitherto they have suffered much but in many cases they have been able to obtain supplementary grants from the Statutory Committee. Now that these grants are to be stopped what is to be put in their place? It seems to us that the only proof of a man's capacity to earn a given wage is the fact that he is earning it. Experience has proved to us that it is unwise to trust a medical board to asses the amount of a man's disability; and that full pension should be paid to all who are unable to earn a trade union rate of wage.

Mr. Henderson gave no indication that all separation allowances and pensions will be raised to meet the increased cost of living or that the pensions of widows and orphans shall be raised to the level of the allowances they had before the soldier was killed. He indicated that the assistance given to soldiers' and sailors' dependants by the Civil Liabilities Committee will cease if the man is killed. Privations bring home to the soldiers' orphans the fact that their father has been killed.

Dr. Macnamara whilst taking a seat on the Pensions Board refused to agree that the Board should have jurisdiction over Naval Pensions. He assumed that there is greater promptitude and more exactness in the Admiralty than in the War Office administration of allowances and pensions. That, indeed, would not be saying much, but we know of some very gross cases of Admiralty neglect. His talk of "the fine sentiment that the Lords Commissioners of the Navy are the little fathers of the fleet" and of the Navy being a "little family" seems very hollow when it is realised that the allowances to sailors' wives and children are lower than those to soldiers' wives and children and that Dr. Macnamara has refused continual pleadings to raise the Admiralty Scale!

The allowance which is paid for the motherless children of soldiers and sailors is 5s. a week. The local committees in many cases are finding it impossible to secure homes for the children at that price and are therefore obliged to send them to Poor Law Institutions where of course they cost the ratepayers much more. Whilst foster mothers find it impossible to maintain the children on 5s, soldiers' wives have only 2s. 6d. and sailors' wives have only 2s. a week on which to maintain their children! In pre-war times such a pittance was too small to keep the child in health: to-day it means semi-starvation.

Mr. Ellis Griffiths made the grim prediction that at the close of the war one quarter of the population may be in receipt of pensions.

The temper of the House showed no flinching from the horror of it; no pity for the killed and maimed made itself heard. There was no realisation of the fact that pensions can never compensate for ruined lives.

### THE GROWING SCARCITY.

Callously Mr. Runciman introduced his food statement:

"The problem that we shall all have to bear next year will fall primarily on food supplies. We can only express the hope that tragic as it may be, that strain is felt more bitterly in Austria and Germany than it is in this country."

That the Government has taken any steps to regulate matters at all is largely due to the threatenings of industrial unrest, especially in South Wales, but Mr. Runciman's efforts will be directed rather in the direction of reducing consumption than that of bringing down prices. He quoted the Sugar Commission as stating that the issues of sugar had been reduced to about 65 per cent. of those in 1915, but that a further reduction must be made.

In announcing the Government's measures to control food and food prices, Mr. Runciman made use of the very arguments, nay, he cited even the very instances of pouring milk down drains and feeding pigs with it to force up high prices, which were urged upon him by Mr. Barnes, Mr. Anderson, and others recently, and which then he contemptuously dismissed as forming part of a very poor case.

The Runciman regulations give power to prevent the waste or misuse of commodities; to prescribe how they shall be used; how they shall be sold; to regulate market operations; limit prices; to requisition stocks and pay compensation decided by an arbitrator with regard to the cost of production and allowance of a reasonable profit; to require returns of stocks, contract prices, cost of production, names and addresses of persons supplied.

Milk is the only commodity of which the price is as yet fixed; it is to remain at the present high rate, and we cannot be certain that even this rate will not be raised. Coal prices have been raised since the Coal Act. In the early months of War Mr. Runciman appointed committees to fix food prices, but these were soon forgotten.

The price of each commodity will only be fixed in response to popular clamour; it will only remain fixed whilst the people are clamouring very loudly. Mr. Runciman and his colleagues proceed on the assumption that no trader's profit must be reduced below the pre-War level; the increased cost is therefore passed on from stage to stage, the whole burden falling upon the poorest consumer, who is no other than the working-class housekeeper with none below her to lay the burden on. Meanwhile the Chancellor of the Exchequer has actually received a hundred and ten million pounds in excess profits tax. Remember that he only gets 60 per cent of the tax, and that there are many ways of evading a proportion of the payment. The Government ought to have prevented these extra War profits being made.

Mr. Runciman foreshadowed the possibility of tickets for sugar and potatoes. It is safe to predict that the administration of the ticket system will be bad in many ways, but the system is a fairer one than that of limiting consumption by raising prices to crush out the poor, or by such methods as that of insisting that 4s. worth of groceries must be bought with a pound of sugar. How is the old age pensioner or the widow earning 8s. to £1 a week to manage this?

The first result of the effort to secure economy by milling a higher percentage of flour and producing standard bread is that the animals are deprived of the waste which formed their food. Consequently, poor people who augment their income by keeping rabbits and fowls in the back gardens are killing them. An East Londoner told us that a rabbit that weighed 5lbs. and could be sold for 5s. or 6s. had cost 17s. 6d. to feed during the last six months. He will keep no more rabbits. What is going on on a small scale in the back gardens of city houses is happening on a large scale on country farms. Undoubtedly, much of this waste could have been obviated if the Government had set itself to build up a complete form of Socialism when War broke out. Undoubtedly, if Cabinet Ministers would act in the collectivist spirit much could be accomplished now. Undoubtedly, even in face of grave national privations the burden might be equalised so that it would not press more hardly on one section of the people than another. But the Government does not recognise all men and women as brothers and sisters, and the workers do not realise that they belong by right to the national family.

### STOP THE WAR

Nevertheless, it is folly not to realise that whilst half the world is engaged in warfare privation and loss to us all must ensue. "Stop the War" is a wiser cry than "Down with Food Prices," for only by stopping the War can the peoples be saved from starvation as well as slaughter.

Heartrending stories are brought over from Belgium of men being snatched from their homes to work in Germany, of Belgian women struggling with the soldiers to retain their husbands and sons, and flinging themselves in front of the trains as the Spanish women did when their men were sent to the Riff.

(Continued on page 604.)

# THE ARMY CLOTHING SCANDAL

A "Wholesale Clothier," answering Dr. Tchaykovsky's letter which was published in the "Manchester Guardian," asserted that, immediately after the figures which Dr. Tchaykovsky quoted were published in the Toynbee Record, "sub-contracting was abolished and every garment had to be made on the premises of the contractor," and that the Toynbee Record statements were "immediately disproved" by the trade papers. The following case provides an answer to "Wholesale Clothier" :—

FOOT v. H. L. GOODSON
(Trading as "Graham & Co.").
Date of hearing: March 23/16.

There are two summonses taken out against the defendant Goodson under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, Part VI., Section 107, Sub-Section 1 :—

(a) For failing to keep in the prescribed form and m[illegible]er a list of all persons employed by them either as workmen or contractors in the business outside the factory or workshop, and the places where they are employed.

(c) For failing to send on or before the 1st day of February and August in each year copies of those lists to the District Council of the district in which the factory or workshop is situated.

The facts are as follows :—

On Friday, March 3rd, 1916, Inspector Henley received information that the defendant was employing outworkers on military tailoring. On March 4th, 1916, he made enquiries in the Public Health Office, and found that no list of outworkers had been received from defendant.

On Monday, March 6th, in company with Inspector Brighting, he kept observation on defendant's premises, 182 Grove Road, and during the day saw women and two children leave the premises with either military tunics or trousers and two go in with work. Mr. Brighting followed one woman to 24 Prospect Terrace, Bethnal Green, and another woman to 60 Heath Street, Stepney. Another woman they saw go into 175 Grove Road, with military trousers. On Tuesday, March 7th, they went to 24 Prospect Terrace and saw a Miss Moses, who, on being questioned, stated that she worked for Graham and Co., Grove Road, and had six tunics to finish, and had worked for them since February 16th (see statement). They then went to 175 Grove Road and saw a Mrs. Slowman. She, on being questioned, stated that she worked for Graham and Co., and had worked for them since January 24th, 1916, trouser finishing, and had at time of visit 12 pairs to finish. They also called on the following person, and found that she was working on military work for the same firm :

Mrs. SMITH, 10 Lessada Street.

On March 8th, at about 3.30 p.m., Inspector Henley called at 182 Grove Road, and saw the manager—Mr. J. Rubens—and asked to see the list of outworkers. He looked into a table drawer and said that he could not find it, said his lady clerk kept it and she was out at the time. The Inspector called again at 5.30 p.m., saw the manager and lady clerk together. He again asked for the list of outworkers. She said they did not keep one, they having no outworkers, and only gave work to the mothers of one or two girls who worked there. The Inspector said they should have sent their names in to the Local Authority. *Rubens said they were not allowed to employ outworkers.* His attention was drawn to paragraph 37 of the Factory and Workshop abstract (which was posted in the passage) which requires a list to be sent in.

On March 9th, the following persons each signed a voluntary statement that they were or had been working for Graham and Co. :—

Mrs. Sophie Slowman, 175 Grove Road,
Mrs. Florence Smith, 10 Lessada Street,
Mrs. Edith R. Moore, 10 Lessada Street,
Mrs. Emily Ayton, 38 Lessada Street,
Miss Ada Bertrand, 37 Lessada Street,
Mrs. M. A. Pond, 37 Lessada Street,
Miss Lydia Moses, 24 Prospect Terrace.

An investigator called on Mr. Rubens, who is the manager (but who, on the factory abstract referred to previously, signs himself as the occupier) who stated that Graham and Co. was not a limited liability company, the proprietor of the business was H. L. Goodson, head office being 133 Oxford Street, W., and he (Goodson) was managing director. They used to be at 2 and 4 Old Street, their other premises are at present at Park Road, E., and Church Row, Aldgate. On March 13th, an Inspector and Assistant kept observation on the premises, and saw a man go into the premises with a barrow containing about two dozen hospital coats. One woman came out with some military tunics and a policeman followed her to 117 Grove Buildings, South Grove. A man came out with a barrow of blue stuff partially covered. Inspector Brighting followed him and saw the stuff go into 61 Roman Road. A man left the premises carrying some blue and white material for hospital coats or trousers. Saunders followed him to 84 Hogarth Mansions, Batty Street, St. George's.

At 61 Roman Road, occupied by Freidman, on the first floor, the police found some blue and white material for making hospital clothes; they were being made up at the time. Asked how long he had been doing this work for Graham and Co., he replied, "One week." He had then 50 to make up.

Inspector Henley got into communication on March 10th with the Director of Army Contracts re this firm employing outworkers, with the result that their travelling inspector—Mr. Phillips—called at the Town Hall on March 11th, and saw Mr. Richards and Mr. Henley, who stated that, according to the contract between the War Office and defendants, they were not allowed to employ outworkers on Army material, but having done so, it was most essential that a list of those employed should be sent to the Local Authority, because at the time there was a very large number of troops in quarantine suffering from measles, and clothing coming from a house where there was an infectious disease might spread same to the soldiers. The names of the outworkers not having been sent in, the Local Authority could have no supervision over their homes. In fact, in one case the Inspector found tunics being made up about 4 p.m. one afternoon in a room in which were two beds both unmade.

The above facts show—particularly where the Inspector was told that no outworkers were employed and no lists kept—a deliberate attempt to conceal the fact that outworkers were employed and to infringe the terms of their contract with the Army Authorities.

When Mrs. Slowman, who was a witness at the Police Court proceedings, called at Graham's for her work book it was refused. Through not having it she failed to get work from another firm, as they required to see same.

COPIES OF SIGNED STATEMENTS.

I, Mrs. Sophia Slowman, of 175 Grove Road, say that I have worked on military work (trousers finishing) for Graham and Co., of 182 Grove Road, since the 24th of January, 1916.

The work is given out to me by a girl on the second floor—the foreman's name is Mack.

I have at the present time twelve pairs to finish.

Dated this 9th day of March, 1916.

(Signed) Sophia Slowman.

Witness—A. S. Henley,
G. Brighting.

I, Ada Bertrand, of 37 Lessada Street, say that I have worked on military work (tunic finishing) for Messrs. Graham and Co., of 182 Grove Road, since the 24th February, 1916, and am working for them at the present time, having six tunics to finish.

The work is given out to me by a young woman in the basement.

Dated this 9th day of March, 1916.

(Signed) Ada Bertrand.

Witness—A. S. Henley,
G. Brighting.

# A CRY FROM INTERNED BRITISH WOMEN

*The following pathetic communication has reached us. Comment is needless* :—

Interned at Aylesbury through friendship with V. Chakspadhyaha (Indian) and Dr. Hafis (Afghan), Mrs. M. Elzie and Miss M. Howsin (English), and Miss Meta Brunner (Swiss). Government accuse them of *German Associations* they know this to be false, but are terrified of any public suggestion of discontent in India. Absolutely false. Interested solely in *Indian Independence. No German sympathies whatever.* If the Irish Members are really going into opposition this session it would be well to get some of the English members up on these cases.

Already, Trevelyan, Jowett, Outhwaite, Byles, and O'Grady are interested and keen on the *habeas corpus* aspect of it. H. M. Hyndman and Holford, of the *Nation*, know particulars. We believe Government is desperately anxious to keep cases of all persons here secret. In some cases Government has admitted having no charge, but having once *interned* them, does not wish to let them go, for fear of scandal they might create by giving details of their arrest and subsequent treatment.

Two Belgians are also amongst these, husband of one on active service in Belgian Army, and she is not allowed to write to him. Son of the other one is also on active service in the Belgian Army, and Mrs. Elzie's son, although only seventeen, is already on active service in the English army, and his mother is not even allowed his address, therefore does not know if he is living or dead.

No prisoner here allowed *legal advice* or help *regarding her interment*, except we three Irish who had already fought for it, and were granted this concession before coming here. Some prisoners are allowed solicitors for their private affairs, *but* contrary to all prison rules a wardress is always present during lawyer's visits, so that the most delicate and private matters have to be discussed before a third party.

There are 24 women in all *interned* here, of all classes and nationalities, some of them of infamous character—one in particular—an Englishwoman (Piccadilly), who makes no secret of her profession, and was interned because, on account of her commerce with military men, there was danger of her tapping Government and War Office secrets and passing them on to her husband, who is a German waiter. She came here suffering from a loathsome disease, was put to sleep on the same landing, using the same bath, lavatory, etc., as other prisoners.

Methods of supervision here are absolutely Russian. No mention of condition of place, other prisoners or state of own health allowed either in letters or conversations with visitors.

No visitor allowed who might be suspected of raising the question outside. Every obstacle put in the way of having visitors "approved." Home Office have *black list* of undesirables, but don't want to admit this. Visitors once approved may have permission for writing or visiting cancelled because of sympathetic activities. For example, Holford Knight and in our cases certain Irish priests, Mrs. Darrel Figgis, and Arthur O'Brien, and Mrs. Gonne McBride. . . . . In cases of prisoners trying to evade restrictions by passing uncensored notes or giving forbidden information—about health, prison, etc., to a visitor, she is punished by loss of letters and visits for a period of three months, or more according to whim of Governor.

Conditions of life here very uncomfortable. Everyone has to do own work, including cooking and washing up. Small cells with only bed and table, and usual prison window. Lavatory accommodation inadequate. No complaints allowed! Above facts are indisputable, and can be proved to the letter. If they are denied demand production of the prisoners.

We have selected above cases of English and friendly aliens, because they can be discussed without arousing the violent prejudice which would certainly be aroused at the mention of Germans. As well as those there are several German ladies of good birth and education. Some of them naturalised English ladies of good birth and education. Some of them naturalised English by reason of their marriage with Englishmen. Widows with no charge whatever made against them. In the meantime their property outside going to ruin or being confiscated, and in some instances—*even regarding property*—legal help is denied.

## GREECE

The news from Greece shows that, though her Government still clings to neutrality, the Allies have arrogated to themselves a tyrannical overlordship at Athens. They have deported the representatives of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey who, in the natural course of events, would have remained in Athens until and unless war should be declared between their Governments and that of Greece. The Entente has also demanded from the Greek Government all its artillery, rifles and munitions "in excess of the requirements of the armed forces of the State of Athens." None but the Greeks have the right to decide what arms Athens needs. We should like to see the disarmament of all nations, but disarmament forced on a people by a stronger Power will only intensify the desire to arm.

It cannot profit the people of Britain that Greece should be drawn into the War. What we need is that the War should be stopped!

* * * *

Lord Bryce, at the English Mayflower Club, expressed admiration of the way in which the American Election had been conducted.

He did not refer to the fact that three million women were voters in the election. He said we "love freedom and desire to see it everywhere prevail," yet his name was appearing attached to a Press manifesto protesting against political freedom for women. He added that hitherto the United States had kept free of entangling alliances but urged that it should join a league of peace-loving nations. There can be no genuine League of Peace that does not include all nations; if any are excluded from it, it will be but another sectional alliance and instead of being a League of Peace it will ultimately prove a League of War.

### A CONVERT

Sir Wilfred Laurier, ex-Prime Minister of Canada and Liberal leader has announced his conversion to votes for women, he said that five years ago, whilst on a visit to this country, he watched the suffrage procession of 40,000 women in London. "I was moved by the spectacle, by the intensity of their earnestness. I felt that if I had been in the British Parliament I must have voted at once for women suffrage."

## THE ONLY HOPE

(Continued from page 601.)

The counterpart of the German Government's efforts to secure labouring men at any cost in order to relieve all available men for actual fighting; is here in the demand voiced by Lord Newton in the House of Lords the other day that the German War prisoners and interned civilians shall be made to work; we see it also in the persecution of conscientious objectors; in the imposition of industrial conscription upon our men and the demand for its application also to our women; and in the importation of coloured labour from South Africa into this country. These things are excused by their authors on the plea of military necessity.

Sir Edward Grey has failed to answer the German Chancellor's accusation:

That the Allies are fighting to make good the guarantee entered into by England and France in 1915 to secure to Russia territorial rule over Constantinople, the Bosphorus and western shores of the Dardanelles with its hinterland, whilst Asia Minor is to be divided amongst the Entente Powers and France is to have Alsace-Lorraine; also that the International Peace Union, which the British Government desires to establish after the War is to guarantee these acquisitions.

Mr. Bonar Law's refusal to answer Mr. Snowden's question on this matter leaves no doubt that the Chancellor's accusation is true.

Mr. Snowden has announced his intention to vote against all War Credits. We have waited anxiously for such action, we welcome it eagerly as the dove with its first little twig of hopeful olive leaves. We welcome also Mr. Mason's motion to appoint a Peace Commission to join these two Members in their stand, but we know that the power to enforce the making of peace rests with the people.

When will they grasp that power? When will they wake to the knowledge that by the continuance of the War the nation is betrayed?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## THE "DREADNOUGHT"

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## FROM ONE WHO DISAGREES

To the Editor of the Woman's Dreadnought.

Dear Madam,—I have been very interested in the report and paper you sent me, but I am afraid I am utterly at variance with you as regards your opinions concerning the war. The article "Banned Plays by a Soldier" seems to me ludicrously illogical. To hold up the selfish plaint of the poor mother who says: "Them that write 'mothers ought to be proud to give their sons' ain't mothers with sons to give"; as a reason for our giving up a righteous fight on behalf of the principle that arbitration treaties cannot be broken with impunity, small unoffending nations laid waste, etc., is an instance in point. As you know, I myself have made my sacrifices, and I know many noble mothers and wives who have given their all. That many of them have their moments of wild, selfish regret is true for we are all human; but the noblest of them are ashamed of those moments. Were we to allow the Germans to spread their "Kultur" over the world, conquering us, and putting us under the iron heel of their despotism, we would become as they. As a nation they have proved themselves brutal and without honour, whatever individuals among them may be. In my opinion it is their system which has made them so, just as I think our *comparatively* free system of government and education is making us in Australia, *comparatively* speaking, (and please note I say *comparatively* in both cases) an intelligent, broad-minded, physically and mentally superior race.

As regards conscription, I believe the majority of the women have voted for it, and the reasons against it (though I personally think they should not have been allowed to weigh against the great cause to be upheld) have been in many cases quite different from those over here.

For instance, we are a young producing country and need our men at home more than England does, our population is so infinitesimal, our country so large. Also we may have to defend ourselves later on, and need our manhood for that. Moreover, errors of judgment, mistakes, and other minor occurrences have influenced many who have been unable to conquer their individual resentment against such things, and look on the struggle from a broader and loftier standpoint. The frequent failure of ordinary human nature to rise above the personal point of view applies also to the eligible men who have not yet gone and of course to a few selfish mothers, wives, etc. Life is one great compromise, but it is impossible for me to see any security in allowing a retrograde nation to impose its stultifying doctrines and government on the freer and more advanced peoples of the world. And that is what would be the logical outcome of your theories.

On the other hand, your "What in the Future?" interests me immensely, though even then I do not always agree. I should much like to see something of your social work which has my entire sympathy, as far as the education and care of the mothers and children goes, and should like to know more of the lines on which your education system is run. I honestly think your pacifist doctrines might do much harm at this juncture as to militate seriously against the good of the other work. It also does militate very strongly against the chances of women getting the vote here, a matter of vital importance.

Of course, I believe in the disarmament of nations, but this War has proved to me that until all the nations are further advanced in civilisation, and less advanced in diabolical engines of warfare we must be prepared. It was England's unpreparedness more than any side-issues of political manœuvring that brought about the present cataclysm.

Your par on the price of potatoes is interesting. The failure of the Government to create efficient Boards of Control to regulate the prices of food stuffs, etc., as in Australia, seems to be suicidal. I am told the women's vote has had great influence in that respect with us.

You will see that I am in sympathy with much of your thought and effort; but I could not do anything which would appear to countenance your attitude as regards the war. I must therefore very regretfully decline to take part in the Exhibition, but hope before long to be able to accept your very kind invitation to come and see your work.

Yours etc., F. G. HERRING.
(Ex-President of the Women's Liberal League, Drummoyne, Sydney).
New South Wales Delegate to the British Dominions Women's Suffrage Conference, London, 1916.

## W.S.F. and W.F.L.

The Women's Freedom League informs us that it has addressed a letter to the Prime Minister and to the President of the Board of Trade asking for the appointment of Lord Selborne as Food Controller. It states that Lord Selborne has earned the confidence of the country, and that, had his advice been acted upon twelve months ago, the present crisis would not have arisen. The Women's Freedom League has also urged the appointment of an Advisory Board of Women, the majority of whom should be middle-class and working-class housewives, nominated by women's organisations, to advise upon questions of domestic consumption and economy. This Board should in no way be confused with any Advisory Board of Business Men, on which a few women might, and should, be appointed.

We reply to the Freedom League that in October, 1914, the Workers' Suffrage Federation interviewed Mr. Runciman and then gave him advice which, had it been followed, would have maintained the price of food at pre-War level.

We do not desire Lord Selborne as Food Controller; his views are far from being ours. When the Government has made such a mess of things it is hard to ask any man to essay the gigantic task of putting things right, but we think that if Mr. Philip Snowden were asked to undertake it, an immediate improvement would result. As we are staunch advocates of equality of the sexes, we urge that some woman of experience, like Mrs. Barton or Mrs. Pound, of the Women's Co-operative Guild, should be appointed as co-Controller with Mr. Snowden.

As for the proposal of an Advisory Board of Women and an Advisory Board of Business Men on which a few women should sit, we fear that the Women's Board would be kept in the background. Our suggestion has always been for a Board consisting of one-third experts, one-third trade union representatives of the trades concerned, and one-third working-class women housekeepers. We do not want a Board of Business Men!

## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The latest development of industrial conscription, known as "Voluntary Enrolment," will apply to conscientious objectors. The Press Bureau states that the men enrolled as Army Reserve Munition Workers, under this scheme, include:

Men referred back by the Tribunals to find work of national importance as the condition of their being exempted from military service.

Conscientious objectors will refuse to submit to the scheme. Their fine resistance to military conscription will be maintained against industrial conscription.

Our good wishes go with them in their fight.

MISS MURIEL MATTERS WILL LECTURE ON THE MONTESSORI METHOD AT THE CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION ON DECEMBER 7th, 3 to 5 p.m. CHILDREN FROM THE "MOTHERS' ARMS" WILL PRACTISE THE MONTESSORI METHOD FROM 3 p.m. EACH DAY TILL 6 p.m.

## POLAND

The German Socialist paper, *Vorwaerts*, in calling attention to the fact that the World War has brought the needs of Poland into prominence, says that the future of Poland will not be settled on moral grounds but by "real conditions of power." *Vorwaerts* quotes Friedrich Engles, who, in an article published in the *Commonwealth* in 1866, wrote that the foreign policy of the working class would result in the re-constitution of Poland. *Vorwaerts* says that a comparison of the opinions of the middle-class democracy of 1848 with those of Marx and Engels reveals a deep difference in their attitude towards the Polish question.

The feeling of middle-class democrats for Poland was a mixture of enthusiasm for the oppressed Poles and a glorification of an independent Poland as a protection of West European civilisation against Russian barbarity. That of Marx and Engels was to consider the Polish question as a part of the universal struggle for liberty of oppressed peoples. In his first public announcement on the Polish question in London, November 29th, 1847, at a meeting of the "Fraternal Democrats," Marx said: "Ancient Poland is surely lost, and we would be the last to wish for its reconstruction. But not only is ancient Poland lost, ancient England, Germany, France, the whole ancient society is lost. Your Chartists have, therefore, no necessity of expressing pious wishes for the liberation of nations. Strike your own enemies at home, then you may have the proud feeling that you have struck the whole ancient régime."

Engels said on the same occasion: "A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations. The liberation of Germany cannot become a reality until that of Poland is accomplished. That is why Poland and Germany have an interest in common, and, therefore, Polish and German democrats can work together for the liberation of both nations."

* * * *

A mass meeting in Warsaw passed the following resolution: Russia is the most unscrupulous enemy of the Polish State and of its reconstruction. Russia's victory would be the destruction of the national existence of Poland.

* * * *

Austrian Socialists are calling on their Government to express willingness to conclude peace.

* * * *

The International Women's Garment Workers' Union at its biennial conference in Philadelphia last October, passed a resolution demanding the franchise.

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(Signed).. ...F.R.C.P.

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# PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

November 14th.—According to Major Newman, the Italian Government has declared that from 1st December Italians of military age may not remain in France. Lord R. Cecil answered that certain proposals are to be addressed to the French Government regarding British subjects of military age in France; he knew nothing about Italy!

Wanted more cannon fodder.

* * * *

Mr. Fitzpatrick drew attention to the case of Benjamin Russell, Queen's County who, whilst mentally deranged, went to Dublin and was passed for the Army. Mr. Forster had not had any report.

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Mr. James Hope declared that the Turkish Government refused to give a satisfactory list of prisoners or to allow the camps to be visited by the American Embassy.

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With reference to the custom of demanding repayment from soldiers' dependants for sums alleged to be overdrawn Mr. Forster said: "I have pointed out to my hon. friend on a previous occasion that the deduction is made in very small weekly sums and I do not think any real hardship arises."

Mr. Forster does not realise that every penny taken from those who are already struggling to make ends meet causes "hardship."

* * * *

Mr. Sherwell and Mr. King drew attention to the action of the officer in command of the Warwick and Midland district for having issued a questionnaire to four Justices of the Peace in Birmingham who are members of the Society of Friends. Mr. Forster stated that if on inquiry being made it was found that the officer acted on his own responsibility the desirability of his replacement will certainly arise.

But if he did not what will happen? We want a pledge that this inquisition is not to be repeated.

* * * *

Mr. Anderson pointed out that the Southwark Coroner had commented on the fact that many soldiers' children have been killed whilst their mothers were at work, to which they are driven owing to the inadequacy of separation allowances to cope with the general rise in the cost of living.

* * * *

Mr. Butcher and Sir Edward Carson were on the war-path smelling out traitors and Germans. They thought they had heard of some in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

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Mr. McKenna stated that the women teachers in Ireland have been granted the same war bonus as the men.

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Mr. Samuel announced that about 2,400 German civilians over forty-five have expressed the wish to be repatriated.

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In reply to Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Brace said that the number of deaths from T.N.T. poisoning for the six months ending 31st October is forty-one.

### WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS AT 2d. AN HOUR.

Colonel Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck stated that Perilli's Cable Company, Southampton, a controlled firm, which employs about 200 women and girls at the rate of 2d. per hour for the first three months to women of eighteen years and upwards, 2½d. for the second three months, 2¾d. after the completion of a year's service with no further advance. The average weekly wage amounts to 10s. 10d. rising to 13s. in the case of those working overtime. Dr. Addison admitted the facts, and added that the question of applying order 447 to all establishments of this class "is now under consideration."

What generosity!

* * * *

On the adjournment of the House, Mr. J. H. Thomas told the story of the organised prevention of the Cardiff conference composed of 415 delegates representing 196,843 members where he and others were to have spoken. Captain Tupper, a man who said: "They want free speech, well, I will give them free speech" was one of the ring-leaders of the riot. Mr. Thomas rather spoiled his point which was the undesirability of the Home Office allowing mob law, by reminiscences of the various strikes, etc., he had been instrumental in preventing.

Mr. Stanton, who had organised the riot, defended his action by saying that "there was nothing else to be done."

He said it was a meeting of notorious pro-Germans and pacifists of means and interested in Capital whose interests were as much in Germany as in this country. He threatened to do in Merthyr what had been done in Cardiff.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, of course whitewashed the police and incidentally tried to suggest that the conference was not really a representative one.

* * * *

November 15th.—In view of the increased cost of living, Mr. Hayes Fisher's reply to Mr. Hogge is of interest. He said:—"Nine shillings a week is the maximum State separation allowance payable to the widowed mother of a soldier, making, with the allotment of 3s. 6d. a week, 12s. 6d. in all." Rent allowance may be paid in certain cases. The Treasury is considering whether to give an extra 2s. 6d. in special cases of hardship.

Would Mr. Hayes Fisher or any member of the Treasury try living on 12s. 6d.? If they did so they would realise at once the absurdity of this allowance.

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Lord Robert Cecil disclosed the fact that the Allied Governments have made an advance of 10,000,000 drachmæ to the Venizelos Government. There seems to be plenty of money for any but our own people! This is a dangerous precedent. Next time we shall be lending money to some autocratic ruler to crush a popular revolution!

### LONDON'S 2,000 PENSIONLESS SOLDIERS.

Mr. Snowden drew attention to the statement in the "Daily News" that in London alone there are 2,000 discharged soldiers, the majority without any subsistence at all, and the minority with only the 4s. 8d. pension. Mr. Forster knew of the matter, but did not contemplate taking any action against the paper.

Probably any prosecution would show only too well the truth of these statements. But why was Nellie Best sent to prison for six months?

* * * *

The action of the police in searching the house of Miss Gater, of 2 Lansdowne Villas, St. Thomas, Exeter, was commented on by Mr. Lambert. The detectives demanded the list of the local members of the Union of Democratic Control. Mr. Forster stated in reply that Miss Gater had distributed leaflets contravening the Defence of the Realm Regulations and the list of members was necessary to trace them.

Major Hunt advocated the stopping of meetings by the Union of Democratic Control and "other anti-patriotic or pro-German Societies."

Mr. Samuel said, "it is not a matter that can be dealt with properly in answer to a question."

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Sir Charles Henry pointed out that the price of bread in France to the consumer is about the same as it was previous to the War.

### SEED-CRUSHERS' £100,000 PROFIT.

According to Sir H. Dalziel, the gross profits for the current year of Messrs. Wray, Sanderson, and Company, seed crushers of Hull exceed £100,000, and the minimum profit £45,000, after providing for all outgoings and Excess Profits Tax, whilst the profits in 1914 were £13,199!

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Mr. Anderson asked whether a fixed minimum wage was contemplated for all "low-paid workers." Mr. Pretyman: "The Board of Trade are considering the whole question of the desirability and practicability of extending after the War the operation of legal minimum rates of wages for women and the best machinery for securing any such extension."

There is nothing like honesty, but was it necessary for Mr. Pretyman to give the show away by admitting that the "low-paid" workers are women? Also, why *after* the War, if the minimum wage will do any good?

* * * *

Mr. Tyson Wilson stated that in some controlled establishments women who are employed on work previously done by men are being compelled to start earlier than the men employed on the same work and to continue after the men have left work. They get no extra pay for this.

Mr. Primrose denied the statemnt.

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Mr. Runciman explained that in New York in July last, granulated sugar was 4¼d. per lb., the current rate in London is 5¾d. per lb.

His argument for the high price of sugar used to be that in New York it costs more.

* * * *

Mr. Hewins moved: "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to adopt further methods of organisation to increase and conserve the national food supply, and so diminish the risk of shortage and serious increase in prices in the event of the War being prolonged." Whereupon he went over the story of the inaccivity on the part of the Government in either stimulating home produce or taking steps to organise and ascertain our home supply.

Replying for the Government, Mr. Runciman announced its intention of appointing a Food Controller and fixing prices to a certain extent. The only point he seemed to be absolutely clear about was flour. "The Government has decided that 70 per cent. of flour cannot now be permitted in this country. Pure white flour will not be milled in future." Maximum prices might lead to prevention of import of various necessities, or discourage farmers from producing goods should fancy prices be prohibited.

The discussion brought no new light to bear on the troubled food question. The debate tended to show that where there is private ownership, no proper or adequate distribution of the produce of the land is possible. This was admitted by many opponents of Socialism.

* * * *

November 16th.—When asked whether definition is available of the limits of interference of the representatives of the Allies in the affairs of Greece on the mainland, Lord Robert Cecil said no.

### RAILWAY FIREMAN AGED 15.

Mr. Thomas drew attention to the practice of employing "boys of tender age" as firemen on goods trains. He cited an accident on September 11th, on the Glasgow and Paisley Joint Railway, where the fireman was fifteen years of age, twenty-eight persons were injured.

Mr. Runciman had no information.

When asked why Irish railway employees did not receive the 10s. War bonus like English railway employees, Mr. Runciman explained: "The Irish companies are run for the benefit of the Irish shareholders, and the Irish shareholders are the persons who ought to pay the remuneration to the employees. Any profit . . . . of the English railways . . . . goes to the State."

### A HUMANE ACT.

Mr. Snowden told the interesting incident that the German authorities have given permission to a British soldier, a prisoner of war in Germany, to return to this country on parole for fourteen days to see his dying mother. The Press censor had forbidden the publication of this fact.

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In reply to Mr. Housten, Mr. Forster stated that the admissions to hospitals at home from enthetic (venereal) diseases represent a ratio of 48 cases per 1,000 men per annum, which is slightly less than the ratio in peace time. No figures are available for the troops abroad.

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Mr. W. Thorne drew the attention of the Minister of Munitions to the practice in Yorkshire, controlled establishments of employing men and boys for three turns, thirty and a half hours altogether, without any rest.

Mr. Montagu replied he was making inquiries.

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The debate on the Food Prices was continued. The shortage of labour to produce food at home, and to build ships to carry it to this country from overseas were emphasised. The workers make civilisation possible: When will they realise it?

## TOWARDS PEACE

On November 14th, in the House of Commons, Mr. David Mason asked the Prime Minister to give a day to discuss a motion:

> "To move that in the opinion of this House and in view of the repeated statements of the Imperial German Chancellor that Germany has been, and is, prepared to discuss the termination of the War, a Commission should be appointed for carrying on that object."

Mr. Bonar Law answered:—"I am unaware that the German Chancellor has proposed any terms of peace that are not based on a recognition of German victory, and I am convinced that the overwhelming majority of the House agrees with me that no useful purpose would be served by such a discussion at the present time."

On November 15th, Mr. Mason raised this question on the adjournment, but the House was counted out.

On August 16th, Mr. Snowden asked whether the Allies have agreed that Constantinople, the Bosphorus and a part of the Asiatic hinterland, are to be the reward of Russia's services in the War?

Mr. Bonar Law answered that announcements can only be made in agreement with the Allies.

Mr. Snowden asked whether the House had no right to know what we are fighting for?

Mr. Bonar Law: "The House has a perfect right to know, but the House must give the Government a certain amount of discretion."

## EQUAL WAGES FOR EQUAL WORK

By P. J. DOLLAN.

The Glasgow Corporation, with the exception of one dissenter, have agreed to the unanimous recommendation of the Tramways Committee that all women employed in the Tramways Department should work under the same conditions as men and receive the same wages according to length of service. The recommendation takes effect as from this week, and is a milestone in the industrial progress of women, as Glasgow, I believe, is the first public authority employing thousands of women to observe the principle of economic equality between the sexes. Its decision is bound to have a beneficial effect for the hundreds of thousands of women who are doing the same work as men but are not getting the same wages. The Glasgow Corporation were the first municipality to employ women in the tramway service, and it is appropriate they should also be the first to place their women employees on the same economic level as men. The success was not won without persistent endeavour, as it was only at the sixth attempt that the Labourists were able to induce their civic colleagues to accept their plea for equal wages for equal work.

The establishment of wages equality means that the women will now obtain the same minimum as the unmarried men, which is: 33s. 7d. for a 54-hours' week. That is an increase of 3s. 4d. on the hitherto female minimum of 30s. 3d., and is probably the highest rate paid for women tram labour in the country. Should the women be retained in the service they can reach a maximum of 42s. 3d. after seven years. Many have been over a year employed by the department, and consequently will be entitled to a wage of 34s. 8d. The married men are in receipt of a special War bonus of 2s. a week, and to that extent are better rewarded than the women or the unmarried men. The great thing is, however, that the women have been admitted to economic equality with the men according to the established scale of wages and not because of any sentimental reason; but because, on the admission of the general manager, they "are as efficient as the men now in the service."

The managerial admission was extracted rather than volunteered, but it was sufficiently striking to compel a councillor who had moved, that women do not be paid the same rates as men, to withdraw his motion. This withdrawal made it possible for the Tramways Committee to give unanimous endorsement to the principle that where a woman does the same work as a man she is entitled to the same reward. It is true that the women are not so efficient as were the specially trained men who were in the service prior to the War and are now in the Army. But should it be necessary, and given time, they may prove as efficient as even those men were. Certainly, they have won the approval of the public by the ready and courteous manner in which they perform their duties, and have proved equal to an emergency which many thought beyond their powers. It is more than likely that other departments of the Glasgow Corporation which are employing women in place of men will be requested to follow the lead of the Tramways Department at the earliest opportunity.

So far as the writer knows, Coatbridge Co-operative Society is the only other employer in Scotland whose women employees are paid the same wages as the men whose places they have taken. But since Glasgow Corporation has now adopted the principle of economic equality between the sexes there is no reason why an attempt should not be made to enforce the principle whenever women are employed at work formerly done by men. The Government, at least, and the controlled firms should be compelled to observe economic equality, the general practice of which would solve many of those industrial problems which Labour anticipates will require solution after the War. Men need not fear the retention of women in industry if they insist on their employers observing equal wages for equal work between the sexes. Capitalists will certainly use unorganised and underpaid women labour to undermine trade union rates and conditions unless the trade unions are strong enough to prevent them. And the trade unions now should see to it that no woman who has displaced a man and is doing his work should be paid less than his wages. That is the surest way of preventing the exploitation of female labour.

The Glasgow Labour Councillors number 20 in a council of 113 members; and if they, by their persistent efforts, could obtain equal wages for women, so can the trade unions. The trade unions have the power if they have the will to ensure that women shall not be exploited to the detriment of the whole working class. Men and women have common interests, and it is for the organised men to make sure that their unorganised sisters are organised and are allowed to co-operate with them for their mutual advantage. Until women are able to stand on their feet industrially it is the duty of the men to protect them from the exploiters. That protection, I repeat, can best be afforded by the general enforcement of equal wages for equal work.

There are Socialists even who maintain that it is unfair to pay women the same wages as men, because women have not the same needs! Such an argument is absurd, considering that we are living in a capitalist state of society which does not consider needs in relation to wages. Women have just as many needs as men, given the opportunity to satisfy them, and the Glasgow tramway women will be able to spend their wages as usefully as their comrades of the opposite sex. Women have not had the same needs as men because society never allowed them to develop needs or to satisfy those that had developed.

The Glasgow decision in favour of women may prove historic, and for that reason it may be well to state that it was reached on November 16th. Women were first employed on the tramways on April 15th, 1915, so that it has taken eighteen months to win for them economic justice as compared with men. It is not without significance that the capitalistic Press has almost ignored the decision, which is all the more reason why we should make it known whenever possible.

* * * *

**In South-West Ham the Council's women tramway employees are paid the same wages as men, and are all Trade Unionists.**

THE

## WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

**To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.**

***Entrance Fee ... ... ... 1d.***
***Minimum Subscription... 1d. a month***

## LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 24th.
Club Row, Bethnal Green Road, 1 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Bermondsey, 1 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
"Whitehouse," Canning Town, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25th.
Grundy Street, Poplar, 11 a.m., Miss Price.
Lewisham Market Place, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Deptford Broadway, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Market Place, Acton, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Davies.
The Grove, Stratford (Joint Meeting with N.C.F.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Grove, Hammersmith (Joint meeting with N.C.F.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Hyde Park, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Parliament Hill, Hampstead, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
The Square, Woolwich, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
Bow Women's Hall, 6 p.m., Public Meeting.
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27th.
White Cross Street, Old Street, 1 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
"Whitehouse," Canning Town, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28th.
Club Row, Bethnal Green Road, 1 p.m., Miss Price.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room.
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2 p.m., Mrs. Scurr.
Poplar Women's Hall, Bromley, 8.15 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30th.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Shlette.
Chandos Hall, W.C., 3.30 p.m., At Home.
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1st.
Custom House, 12 (noon), Mrs. Boyce.
Greenwich, Stockwell Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture; Discussion.
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2nd.
"Whitehouse," Canning Town, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Caxton Hall Exhibition Poster Parade, 3 p.m., International Suffrage Shop, 5 Duke Street, Adelphi.
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3rd.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
The Grove, Stratford, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Beckton Road, Canning Town, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce.
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Bow Women's Hall, 6 p.m., Public Meeting.

## W.S.F. BRANCHES

### LONDON.

Barking.—Hon. Sec.; Mrs. Langford, Allsa Crag, 97 Essex Road.

Bow.—400 Old Ford Road, E. Secretary: Miss Price. Branch meetings are now held on alternate Monday evenings at 7 p.m. first and third Mondays. Miss Bailey has kindly undertaken charge of the literature department. Other members are helping with the sale of DREADNOUGHTS and canvassing.

All members are reminded that fancy articles and other gifts for the Caxton Hall Exhibition are welcomed.

DREADNOUGHT sales week ending November 18th, 638. Miss Harriet, 239; Miss O'Brien, 150; Mrs. Holloway, 79; Miss Price, 43; Mrs. Walker, 27; General sales, 100.

Bromley.—53 St. Leonard's Street. Hon. Secs.: Mrs. Lansbury, Mrs. Wood. Branch meeting alternate Mondays at 7 p.m.

Canning Town.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Parsons, 94 Ravenscroft Road.

Enfield and Edmonton.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Beavis, 171 Church Street, Lower Edmonton.

Golder's Green.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Clapson, 44 Erskine Hill, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.

Leyton.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hart, 73 Calderon Road.

Poplar.—20 Railway Street, E. DREADNOUGHT sales, 157.

St. Pancras.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Redgrove, 191 Camden Road, N.W.

Tidal Basin.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Drake, 49 Crediton Road. Branch meets Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

Willesden.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Shepherd, 141 Villiers Road.

### PROVINCES.

Birmingham.—Hon. Sec.: Miss A. F. Boden, 10 Sandhurst Road, Moseley.

BIRMINGHAM.—A meeting was held in Stirchley Institute on Wednesday, November 15th, at which members cut out and began to make up garments for the Sale. Mrs. Butler and Mrs. Death brought garments already completed and other members kindly brought materials. A meeting will be held on November 29th in Stirchley Institute at 7.30 p.m. at which Mr. Potter of the Navvies' and Labourers' Union will speak on "the Congress and the Trade Union Movement." Will all members make a special effort to come and bring friends? Those who are able are asked to bring garments completed to the meeting. A donation of 15s., the profit on our social was sent to the headquarters general fund.

Bradford.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. McHale, 12 Airedale College Terrace.

Brynmawr and Nantyglo.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hayward, Coedcae, Garn Fack.

Chester-le-Street.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Faulkner, 14 Hilda Terrace, South Pelaw, Durham.

Chopwell.—Hon. Sec.: V. M. Hardy, Esq., 18 Severn Street, Durham.

Cornsay and Quebec.—Hon. Sec. pro tem.: Miss Ellis, Dundalk House, Neville's Cross. Branch meeting, Monday at 176 High Street, Cornsay.

Durham.—Hon. Sec.: Miss C. Ellis, Dundalk House, Neville's Cross.

Ferryhill.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Ruby Stoddart, 12 Hackworth Street, Dean Bank.

Glasgow.—Hon. Sec.: Lachlan Smith, Esq., 126 Bothwell Street. Branch meets Fridays at Charing Cross Halls.

Leeds.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. We have held Sunday meetings when the weather has made it possible. From October 2nd to November 6th, when Miss Stephen was with us, we had eight meetings including a very large one in Victoria Square. We hope to arrange a social, dance and whist drive in Christmas week. We also hope to send a delegate to the Annual Conference. Our DREADNOUGHT sales have only been 84 copies a week during recent weeks because the wet and cold weather and dark nights have prevented us getting meetings. We hope to do better soon. Our branch was represented at the A.S.E. Rank and File Conference by Mr. Claughton.

Leicester.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hill, 12 Sweetbriar Road.

Medomsley.—Hon. Sec.: Tom Orr, Esq., 6 Derwent Cottages, Durham.

Nottingham.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hough, 3 Chandos Avenue, Netherfield.

Portsmouth.—Hon. Sec.: Miss L. Whitehead, 6 Northumberland Road, Southsea. Branch meets alternate Wednesdays, 8 p.m., Trades Hall, Fratton Road.

Sheffield.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Manoin, 58 Gell Street. This branch has decided to send a delegate to the annual conference. Members' meetings are held every Friday evening at Wentworth Café, 7.30 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold week ending November 19th, 150.

Southampton.—Hon. Sec.: Miss Helsby, 77 Tennyson Road.

York: Huddersfield, Rotherham, Wakefield.—Organiser: Miss Stephen, c/o Mrs. Gee, 15 Springwood Terrace, Huddersfield.

## W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45.

**Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."**
**,, 15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstoi's Philosophy of Religion."**

Mr. John Scurr's concluding lecture, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday, 29th, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E.

**Nov. 29th. "The Uplift of Labour."**

The last At Home before Christmas will be held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, close to Eustace Miles' Restaurant), November 30th, at 3.30. We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free. Mrs. Zangwill, "Picking up the Prices." Rev. William Piggott, "The Tyranny of the Expert." Chair: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

After Christmas the At Homes will be on Saturday afternoons.

To-morrow, Sunday 26th, 6 p.m. Public Meeting, Bow Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Miss Milton, "Some Eminent Women." Mr. John Arnall, "France and the War." Chair: Mrs. Drake. Music. Refreshments at popular prices.

Bow Women's Hall. Public Meeting, Sunday, December 3rd, 6 p.m. Miss Dorothy Matthews, "War will become impossible if all men were to have the view that war is wrong"; Mr. Sergius Cyon, "Protection of Motherhood in Germany." Chair: Mrs. Bouvier. Music; Refreshments at popular prices; Admission free.

Lees Hall, Barking Road, Public meeting on Human Suffrage and Reconstruction after the War, Sunday, December 10th, 6 p.m. (doors open at 5.30). Speakers: Mrs. Boyce, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. Robert Williams. Chair: Mrs. Drake. Admission free.

## CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION

THURSDAY, FRIDAY, AND SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p.m.

OPENERS—THURSDAY: Mr. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
FRIDAY: Mr. J. M. HOGGE, M.P.
SATURDAY: Miss EMILY HOBHOUSE.

**SPEECHES BY**

Mrs. Bouvier. Mrs. Drake. Mr. George Lansbury.
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Miss Susan Lawrence.
Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M.P. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky. Mrs. Walker.
Miss Norah March will lecture on Sex Education.

**EXHIBITS:**

**SWEATED INDUSTRIES:** Arranged by Mrs. Savoy and Dr. Tchaykovsky.

**FOOD PRICES:** Arranged by Miss E. Dyce Sharp and Mrs. Drake.

**MOTHERCRAFT AND CHILD WELFARE:** Arranged by Miss James, B.A.

**MONTESSORI DEMONSTRATION:** Miss Muriel Matters will lecture on Thursday.

**PHOTOGRAPHS WITH COMPETITION.** Fee 2s. 6d. Judged by E. O. Hoppé, F.R.P.S.

**PORTRAIT SKETCHES** by John Collard and Amy K. Browning.

**MODEL ELECTION,** arranged by the Proportional Representation Society. Men and Women Electors; Men and Women Candidates.

**CONCERT:** Miss Maria Levinskaja, the Russian Pianist; Carlo Liten, Belgian Dramatic Reciter; Soprano solo, Mme. Vera Kastelianskaja; Artistes from Margaret Morris School of Dance; and others.

ADMISSION: 1s. from 3 to 10; 6d. from 6 to 10 p.m.; 3-day ticket, 2s.

Tickets may be obtained from the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, E.; the International Suffrage Shop, 5 Duke Street, Adelphi; and at the doors.

### LEICESTER CONFERENCE.

A most successful Adult Suffrage Conference convened by the Leicester branch of the W.S.F., was held on November 18th. The report is held over until next week.

### CHANDOS HALL.

At the Chandos Hall At Home on Thursday, November 16th, Mrs. Outhwaite dealt with the Land Question, and gave an instructive and interesting survey of the taxation of land values. Mr. Jaakov Prelooker spoke on Patriotism, and dwelt especially on the irony of calling upon oppressed peoples like the Jews and Poles to fight in the ranks of their oppressors. An interesting discussion followed.

**Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.**

**All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.**

### GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—C. A. Pease, Esq., £5; per Miss Boden (profit on Social), 15s.; Miss Gore-Browne, 14s.; Mrs. Canty and Miss Fox per Mrs Bertram, 10s.; Miss L. Cutten (monthly), 5s.; Miss K. Evans, 2s. 6d.; Anon. (Leicester), 1s.

COLLECTIONS.—Chandos Hall (two collections), £1 0s. 10½d.; Mrs. Walker, 19s. 11½d.; Holborn Town Hall, 6s. 7½d.; Grundy Street, 2s. 1d.; Club Row, 2s.; Bow Women's Hall, 1s. 4½d.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Mrs. Boswell, $1; Miss L. Cutten, 2s.; Miss Balchin, 1s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Col. J. Aberigh-Mackay, £2; Miss Hinton, 30s.; per Miss Weir, £1 10s.; Mrs. Rintel and Miss Thomas (Dental Chair), £1; Miss C. Lilley, £1; Nurse Hebbes, 12s.; Mrs. Empson (5s. monthly), 10s.; Mrs. Burroughs, 10s.; Miss Greenfield, 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Rev. T. Gore-Browne (monthly), 8s.; Miss Hornabrook, 8s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly) 5s.; Miss Margaret Rackham, 5s.; Three Northern Friends (monthly), 3s. 6d.; Mr. Stiebel (1s. weekly), 3s.; Mrs. Mason, 1s.; Mrs. Dodds, 6d.

COLLECTIONS.—L.S.A. Stocking Department (two collections), £2 13s. 6d.; L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 8s. 3d.; Employees of Messrs. Ross, Ltd., per Mrs. Young, 17s. 6d. Mrs. Wood, 14s. 3d.; Miss Lagading and Miss Lynch (Green's Yard), 13s. 8½d.; Mrs. Lambert, 12s.; Leyton W.S.F., 9s.; Restaurant Collecting Box, 5s. 5d.; Mr. Salmon, 12d.

EXHIBITION.—Dr. Scarlett Synge, 10s.; Mrs. Chester, 5s.; Mrs. W. Smith, 2s.

MEDICINE BOTTLES.—Miss McLean, Miss Cooper.

EGGS.—Lady Margaret Sackville.

CLOTHES, ETC.—Miss M. Smith, Mrs. Miller Kerr, Miss Edger.

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20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR
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Doctor's' consultation and baby-weighing, Wednesdays, 3 p.m. Nurse may be seen at any time.

53 ST. LEONARD'S STREET, BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

Doctor's consultation and baby-weighing, Tuesdays, 2 p.m.

All mothers and children are welcome.

COST PRICE RESTAURANTS at 400 Old Ford Road, and 20 Railway Street. Dinners from 12 till 2 p.m. daily.

WANTS.

Subscriptions to the milk and food fund. Doctoring and nursing can help little if mothers and children are unable to obtain the nourishment that is ordered.

New laid eggs, barley, glaxo, virol, for invalids. Medicine bottles, clothing and shoes for adults and boys and girls of all ages.

For baby, four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests, and a cot blanket; for mother, two nightgowns, woolen shawl, three towels, two sheets, and a pair of pillow cases.

Growing plants, flowers and branches for all our centres and for the L.C.C. schools. We should be grateful to friends who would supply us regularly. We also need vegetables and fruit.

More cupboards are needed at all our centres.

Nurse needs empty medicine bottles at her dispensary.

Health Talks to Mothers are held the first and third Fridays in the month at 3 p.m., at the Mothers' Arms.

## W.S.F. PAMPHLETS

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## MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

POPULATION QUESTION & BIRTH CONTROL.—Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen's Anne's Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

WANTED, LEARNER for East London Toy Factory—Apply, 45 Norman Road, Bow, E.

FRENCH LADY, widow, speaks and writes English, seeks WORK, in or near Tooting preferred, not clerical.—Apply, Box 10, this Office.

TEMPORARY POST required by nursery-trained Nurse for January. Good testimonials.—Apply to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

On Friday, 17th, Mrs. Cyon gave her concluding lecture on the French Revolution. She pointd out that the bourgoisie had gained more by it than the artisans or peasants. Land divided up into small holdings renders it more difficult for those who want to secure it for the people.

The audience was most appreciative, and questions and discussion showed the keen interest evoked by the subject. We all hope to hear Mrs. Cyon soon again when she promises to speak on anarchy.

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